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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to provide a perspective on advocacy and advocate counseling for participants in the University of Maryland Sixth Annual Community-Clinical Workshop, 1976. It attempts to define relevant terms and outline a method of self-advocacy which can, if utilized properly, lessen the impact of institutional racism. The terms, institution, race, racism, advocacy and self-advocacy are first defined. Next, the origin and development of institutions within a social contract perspective is presented. Third, a theory of the development and diminishment of racist institutions in the United States is presented. Fourth, various advocacy efforts are presented and analyzed regarding their impact upon institutional racism. Particular emphasis is made on the distinctions between advocacy "on behalf of" efforts and self-advocacy efforts. In addition, the Advocate Counseling Model, a self-advocacy approach espoused by authors, is heavily stressed in this paper and in the workshop. (Author)

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# ADVOCACY AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

By

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## DEFINITIONS

An INSTITUTION is "a system or body of usages, laws, or regulations, of extensive and recurring operation, containing within itself an organism by which

it effects its own independent action, continuance, and generally its own further development. Its object is to generate, effect, regulate, or sanction a succession of acts, transactions, or products of a peculiar kind or class." (Lieber, (1874) p. 300).

Besides meaning to "rush onward", the term RACE means "a) the descendants of a common ancestor: a family, tribe, people, or nation belonging to the same stock, b) a class or kind of individuals with common characteristics, interests, appearance, or habits as if derived from a common ancestor, c) a division of mankind possessing traits that are transmissable by descent and sufficient to characterize as a distinct human type (e.g., Caucasian race; Mongoloid race)" (Webster (1971) p. 1869-70).

The term RACE is "anthropological and ethnological in force and implies a distinct physical type with certain unchanging characteristics, as a particular color of skin or shape of skull (the Caucasian *race*) (the Malay *race*) (the Ethiopian *race*) although sometimes, and most controversially, other presumed common factors are chosen, such as place of origin (the Nordic *race*) or common root language (the Aryan *race*). In popular usage, RACE can apply to any more or less clearly defined group thought of as a unit usually because of a common or presumed common past (the Anglo-Saxon *race*) (the Celtic *race*) (the Hebrew *race*)." (Ibid. p. 1870).

RACISM is "the assumption that psychocultural traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another which is usually coupled with a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others." (Ibid. p. 1870).

ADVOCACY is the activity in which an individual/group or system with perceived greater resources initiates and represents the problem-solving efforts of another individual/group or system with lesser resources (Chan et al., 1976).

SELF-ADVOCACY is that activity in which an individual/group or system represents self-initiated problem-solving efforts (Chan et al., 1976).

INSTITUTIONS AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

One vehicle which can be used to understand the creation and development of institutions into their present complex form in the urban melieu is the social contract theory. Social contract theory postulates human beings originally coming together to form societies toward the end of securing themselves from physical harm from "outside" the society and providing the necessities (i.e., food, water, etc.) required for physical survival. As agreements (i.e., contracts) are consumated between individuals and small groups in the society in order to insure their survival, larger groups are developed. As the society becomes increasingly complex via these agreements between individuals and groups, it becomes necessary to form a body which will resolve questions concerning the various contracts. Such a body develops in line with the needs and desires of the individuals in society. This entity is called the State and is generally the result of a contract. In modern times, this contract has become a formal written document, often called a constitution, between those who become the primary representatives of the values of the state (i.e., the rulers) or government and individuals. Agreements between the people and the government are called laws.

Public Institutions are entities created and sustained by agreements/contracts between individuals or groups of individuals and government for the purpose of serving some human need consistent with security. Initially, public institutions were related primarily to survival, e.g., seeking and retaining a source of food, procreation, defense of a home territory, etc. In modern times, public institutions are related to many sophisticated kinds of needs and services. A public institution, therefore, is an entity established by agreement (i.e., contract) between

the individual citizens and the government (making it a lawful or legal entity) for the purpose of serving some desire articulated by individuals. Public institutions are the reservoirs of the values which are determined by these agreements between the government and individual citizens.

Private institutions are entities which are initially created and sustained by agreements/contracts between individuals for the purpose of serving some human need. Where the function of such institutions is consistent with social order and security, regulatory involvement by the government of the state tends to be minimal. However, where government controls the medium of exchange (i.e., money), even private institutions are minimally regulated prior to the time in which they begin to implement their goals. As they proceed to implement their goals, government tends to take a regulatory interest via the law, relative to their ability to deliver goods and services to individuals and groups.

As institutions survive the generations which created them, the values represented by the laws which brought them into being are imposed on succeeding generations. As these institutions become further removed from that which initiated them they tend to take on an aura of historical veracity; hence, public institutions represent a frightening spector for most individual citizens who must deal with them.

The modern urban milieu is, to date, the most complex manifestation of the social contract. Unlike the social order of the hunter or the farmer which maximizes the independence of individuals or small groups and minimizes the dependence on and necessity for agreements/contracts with significant others, the modern urban milieu maximizes the dependence on and necessity for agreement by individuals and groups with significant others.

The social contract of the hunter and the farmer posits human beings primarily as a function of nature. It was essential that people reach an understanding with and knowledge of nature as a first premise of any social contract

which would allow them to survive. Only after these stipulations were understood did it become expedient for human beings to concern themselves with agreements/ contracts involving large numbers of people.

The social contract of the modern urban milieu posits human beings primarily as a function of other human beings, not primarily as a function of nature. As people have learned to manipulate the resources of nature, urban persons become less involved in the direct production of the essentials of survival and more involved in the production and commerce revolving around the effort to manipulate these resources.

In this increasingly complex urban milieu, the significance of the knowledge and skills which allowed people to be independent become less important, and the knowledge and skills associated with dependency on others for the essentials of security and the accoutrements of "civilization" assume greater importance. Progress, manifested by a blur of inventions with a priority on newness, becomes the catchword for urban people. The production and acquisition of material goods resulting from the manipulation of resources become, for such people, the primary goals of social order. Surrounded in an urban environment by the results of this manipulative and inventive process, people become less inclined to relate the specifics of that environment to nature or some significant other. The skills of affirmative assertive behavior by which human beings through motivational activity have survived and achieved security become secondary. In the modern urban milieu, they have become dependent and passive under the manifest pressures of progress.

In this dependent and passive state, the institutions which embody the history and values by which people define themselves and their social order become stale and representative only of an inability to cope. In the absence of constant significant input from individuals with the knowledge and skills to have

significant impact, many public and private institutions become a haven for greed, avarice, and human service professionals who are trained to reinforce passive and dependent modes of behavior.

THE INSTITUTIONAL MELDING PROCESS

In the United States of America, we live in an urban social order encompassing many groups which could be given and, from time to time in our history, have been given the designation "race". These groups would include, for example, the English, the Dutch, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Germans, etc., etc.

For many individuals in each of these groups, the move to a new continent was traumatic. Their security was not in melding into the social structure already existent in their new country but rather in remaining separate and identifiable as a racial-ethnic and/or religious group. They remained separate and identifiable, and hence secure, by importing the institutions of their homeland. These institutional contexts included language, religion, marriage, family structure, educational emphasis, etc. They were racist in that, during the first generation of immigration to this continent, these groups tended to think of themselves and their institutions (1) as superior and (2) as having a right to dominate, at least in a given geographic area. In their initial generation(s) in this country, the institutions of these different peoples tended to be exclusive and discriminatory.

In the U.S.A., in given geographic areas, particular racial-ethnic groups have tended to be dominant, either in numbers or technology or both. In these territories, the particular racial-ethnic majority would tend to resist the encroachment by other racial-ethnic groups on its institutions, resulting in a de facto, if not de jure, segregation between the various groups.

However, in this modern urban nation-state, each of these groups is required

by the pressures of progress mentioned earlier to interact with, to communicate with, to integrate with, or to assimilate all other racial-ethnic groups with which they are in contact. As this process of melding occurs, the institutions which are indigenous to each group loose their former racist characteristics and take on new characteristics including tolerance of the institutions and traditions of the groups with which they are interacting. The groups become as one; each losing and gaining characteristics, in a state of flux, until they are melded together in such a way as to be distinguishable only as part of the new group. Individuals in this melded group no longer identify primarily with the institutions and traditions of their blood heritage. Rather they tend to identify with the new institutions more representative of their new status in the larger melded group.

In the United States, this process has resulted in the melded group being larger and more powerful than any of the original, individual groups. It is made up of individuals whose primary identification is not with the particular racial-ethnic grouping and institutions of their blood heritage, such as German, Polish, Irish, etc., but rather whose primary identification is with the new and more tolerant institutions which resulted from the melding process, e.g., (1) Chrches which were started with an overwhelmingly racial-ethnic population have changed to churches which are willing to accept persons of other racial-ethnic backgrounds; (2) a system of education which was initially private and dependent upon the support of particular racial-ethnic groups has become largely public and is supported by all for all, and; (3) health care which was initially the purview of the "doctor" or midwife of the racial-ethnic group is now more often public with county, city and even private facilities required to serve everybody.

To say that these new institutions, or perhaps we should say new versions of old institutions, are somehow ideally humanistic and not in anyway racist is

obviously wrong. Not all racial-ethnic groups have desired to participate in or have been allowed to participate in the melding process. Also, some racial-ethnic groups are so new on the American scene (e.g., Samoans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Viet Namese, etc.) that they have hardly had time to establish an identity for themselves in their new surroundings.

However, the historical direction in the United States of America has been toward the melding of racial-ethnic groups. Institutionally, the movement has been from behaviors and traditions of racial-ethnic groups which were racist to behaviors and traditions which are less racist.

In 1976, in the United States, efforts are being made to meld the last major identifiable racial-ethnic groups (i.e., Blacks, Latinos, Amerasians, American Indians) into the larger, already melded group. If this process continues, the identity of these racial-ethnic communities as individual and distinct communities will be obscured just as has the identity of the German, Irish, Dutch, Italian, etc. communities of the past. The institutions of these people as well as their blood will become part of that greater community of already melded racial-ethnic groups. It is likely that the competence of that greater community will be enhanced rather than impeded by the contributions of these peoples. As this process continues, the institutions which result will be increasingly non-racist.

As institutions progress from racist to less racist to non-racist, capability for change, receptivity to consumer pressure, and structure whereby strength is sustained through flexibility rather than rigidity are paramount if they are to serve all of the different racial-ethnic groups participating in the melding process. Racist behavior in such institutions, at any level, is an impediment to the competence of that greater community which encompasses all of the racial-ethnic groups. These new institutions, which we will call "modern" to

differentiate them from the "traditional" racial-ethnically separate institutions, must find their strength in flexibility and change at a rate consistent with the dynamics of the ongoing melding process. It is in the context of the modern institution, established to serve the needs of all of the people, whatever their racial-ethnic origin, that racist behavior evidenced in employee attitudes or policy development and implementation is dysfunctional and cannot be tolerated.

ADVOCACY

It is the function of advocacy to help institutions become stronger as they become flexible and change consistent with efficient and effective delivery of goods and services. It is also the function of advocacy to make institutional employees accountable in such a way as to identify those whose behavior is dysfunctional and/or racist as well as those whose behavior is function and non-racist.

It would be fruitless to cite and describe every effort which has the label of advocacy. Not all of these efforts are obtainable and can be described. The term "advocacy effort" is intentionally used because of the chaotic status of this field. With so many different advocacy efforts currently under way, there is little to distinguish an advocacy program from a non-advocacy, service program. Moreover, critical examination of advocacy writings indicate little tendency of thinkers to provide conceptual frameworks. There is little systematic empirical research of any rigor to indicate this construct validity or conditions for success/failure; nor are there studies comparing various advocacy approaches with other similar approaches.

Four advocacy efforts which show some semblance of providing a conceptual framework are: I Citizen Advocacy a la Wolfensberger, II. Ombudsman, III. Advocate Counseling, and IV Lawyer Advocacy. One effort, Citizen Advocacy, focuses

mainly on personal advocacy; that is, solving client self-needs and the client's family/loved ones' needs. Two methods focus heavily on system advocacy, attempting to impact on and change the local, state and federal instituitons for the benefit of their clients. These are Lawyer Advocacy and Advocate Counseling. There are vast differences between these two approaches which will be discussed later; however, for now, it is very apparent that the Lawyer Advocacy approach attempts to provide legal service on behalf of the client, whereas, in Advocate Counseling, much responsibility for the actual solution of the problem is placed upon the client and his/her family and friends. The Ombudsman approach seems to focus on both personal and system advocacies, helping to solve problems concerning some client self-needs and family needs, as well as some institutional needs.

It is also important to note which approaches emphasize the performance of some advocacy service for the client, as opposed to the approaches which emphasize the teaching and learning of problem solving skills by the client.

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TABLE I
TYPICAL ADVOCACY EFFORTS
Potential Advocate Roles

| POTENTIAL AREAS OF ADVOCACY IMPACT | Advocate "Does" for Individual | Advocate/ Individual "Do" Together | Advocate Teaches Individual |
|---|---|---|---|
| Client's Self Needs | CA, O | CA | CA |
| Client's Family/Loved Ones Needs | CA, O | CA | CA |
| Local Institutional Service | CA, O, LA | CA, ACM | CA, ACM |
| Local Institutional Policy | O, LA | ACM | ACM |
| Local Institutional Ordinance | LA | ACM | ACM |

Legend
CA = Citizen Advocacy
O = Ombudsman
ACM = Advocate Counseling Model
LA = Lawyer Advocacy

(Cont'd.)

TABLE I
(Cont'd.)

| POTENTIAL AREAS OF ADVOCACY IMPACT | Advocate "Does" for Individual | Advocate/ Individual "Do" Together | Advocate Teaches Individual |
|---|---|---|---|
| Local Institutional Litigation | LA | --- | --- |
| State Institutional Service | O, LA | ACM | ACM |
| State Institutional Policy | O, LA | ACM | ACM |
| State Institutional Legislation | LA | ACM | ACM |
| State Institutional Litigation | LA | --- | --- |
| Federal Institutional Service | LA | ACM | ACM |
| Federal Institutional Policy | LA | ACM | ACM |

I. CITIZEN ADVOCACY. --- The citizen advocate as outlined in W. Wolfensberger's Citizen Advocacy for the Handicapped, Impaired & Disadvantaged: An Overview (1972) is one who provides for both the "physical and emotional" needs of another. The citizen advocate is "...a mature, competent citizen volunteer representing, as if they were his own, the interests of another citizen who is impaired in his instrumental competency, or who has major expressive needs which are likely to be unmet without special intervention."

Wolfensberger identifies other forms of advocacy, for example:

1. GENERIC: Advocacy for an entire category of persons -- (e.g., Ralph Nader's Consumer Advocacy).

2. COLLECTIVE OR CORPORATE: a group of individuals represent the interests

of an entire category of persons -- (e.g., National Association for Retarded Citizens).

3. GROUP ADVOCACY: usually informal group of citizens who serve as a "watch dog group" for another group -- (e.g., Church group who 'adopts' individuals in a nursing home).

4. MULTIPLE ADVOCACY: a citizen who advocates for more than one individual --

5. DISPERSED ADVOCACY: Several advocates for one citizen --

6. YOUTH ADVOCACY: a youth serves as an advocate for another youth --

7. ADVOCATE ASSOCIATE: an individual who works within an agency and promotes change from within that agency --

Citizen Advocates should think of their commitment as long term associations. They adopt the strategy of "minimal advocacy" or that position which allows the persons for whom they are advocating to do as much as possible on his/her own. The advocate, usually a volunteer, may be thought of as a friend who is there in need.

II. OMBUDSMAN. --- The source of information for this "advocacy" effort comes from P. Linnane's Ombudsman for Nursing Homes: Structure & Process (1974). The ombudsman's role when contrasted to that of the advocate is similar in nature to that which is characterized as "Advocacy on Behalf of". It is the role of the ombudsman to examine complaints and to act on those legitimate complaints in such a manner as to bring about a just conclusion to the citizen's problem by means of acquiring a service or securing a change in institutional policy. In the capacity of an advocate, it is not the role of the ombudsman to instruct. Although he is interacting with an individual in need, when the need no longer exists the relationship is terminated. It is his goal to provide for fair treatment to citizens and to give the citizen a sense of participation in the problem solving process.

The ombudsman, in his capacity as representative, does not have the power to make or reverse administrative actions. His power for change lies in his ability to criticize and publicize that which is unjust. Ideally, the ombudsman is characterized by impartiality, political independence and expertise in government which might place him/her in an unique position as a citizen representative.

Successful ombudsman activity calls for a substantial power base inside the system. Historically, the ombudsman is appointed by a top official in government or an institution with responsibilities only to that person and authority to "cut red tape" on behalf of those who are confused by institutional or governmental policy and/or procedures.

The concept has been misused by some officials (notably in the business world) by calling their public relations persons ombudsmen. In other cases, the appointment of an ombudsman has been used to placate groups who have organized around a particular poblem. In this case, the "ombudsman" serves as a buffer between the group(s) and the high officials.

Initially ombudsmen were elder statesmen, respected, experienced, and knowledgable in the workings of whatever context to which they were appointed. Of late, some programs have been initiated with persons of varying age and previous experience.

Research in the area of ombudsmanry is lacking and the traditional process by which an ombudsman works is informal and unstructured. Hence, research data has been difficult to obtain.

III. ADVOCATE COUNSELING. --- The information for this effort comes from two articles: (a) *The Advocate Counseling Model: Part I - Conceptual Framework*, 1974, by M. Brophy, A. Chan and B. Mar, and (b) *The Advocate Counseling Model: Part II - The Process*, 1974, by M. Brophy, A. Chan and R. Nagel.

The goal of the Advocate Counseling Model is to help people to assert maximum

control over their own lives. The process described by this counseling model is focused on helping clients develop affirmatively assertive skills that will enable them to deal more effectively with dysfunctional institutional/individual interactions. Unlike other advocacy methods such as Child Advocacy, Lawyer Advocacy, Citizen Advocacy, et al., Advocate Counseling places primary emphasis on teaching and helping the clients to advocate for themselves so that they will ultimately be able to replicate, consistent with their capabilities and potential, the behaviors and methods utilized without the help of the Advocate Counselor.

This method is based upon the assumption that all human beings desire maximum capability for impacting upon those elements of the social order which effect their behavior. It posits institutions as a manifestation of a larger social contract. Institutions are perceived as entities created and sustained by agreements or contracts between individuals and groups or individuals and government for the purpose of serving some human need consistent with the security for all. Further, as institutions survive the generations which brought them into being, the values represented by the agreements which brought them into being are imposed on succeeding generations. The role of the Advocate Counselor is to help individuals and groups maximize their impact upon the institutions in wuch a way that the institutions remain pertinent in their efforts to meet the needs of those persons which they were established to serve. In this respect the process is geared to help institutions become stronger as they become relevant and responsive.

Institutions are perceived as the result of formal and informal agreements which culminate in the delivery of a service consistent with social order and security. Institutions must conform to standards of substantive and procedural due process consistent with the explicitly expressed concerns of the population served. Too often the needs for security of those who are employed by the institution conflict with the changing needs of those whom the institution was

established to serve. This is understandable, but the ultimately socially destructive attitude on the part of some institutional employees often has a "chilling" effect on the due process by which the needs and grievances of individual clients and their friends are resolved.

This Model views the citizen/client as a hurting person who, in interaction with the institution, has not received adequate services and needs guidance (a) to solve this immediate problem, short of litigation, (b) to feel more in control of handling institutions, not destroying them, and (c) to learn more about institutional behaviors as well as his/her own capabilities, rather than to be intimidated by institutions. The Model attempts (a) to utilize the dysfunctional institutional problem as the client's own personal, living-learning laboratory, and (b) to intensify/amplify the client's thought process and feelings in order to generate client assertiveness and action. The flowchart presented in Figure 1 illustrates the various steps of the counseling process. Emphasis is placed upon three distinct but overlapping phases: (1) the Educaton Phase, (2) the Facilitation Phase, and (3) the Implementation Phase.

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INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE.

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This approach relies on the skillful application of accurate up-to-date, primary source information regarding institutions and their functioning, together with the elements of therapeutic counseling, such as empathy, warmth, respect, confrontation and assertive training. Operationally, the Model functions according to the schema in Figure 2.

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INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE.

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Using the law as the highest authority, the Model teaches the client to look for discrepencies in the implementation of policies by institutional

Figure 1

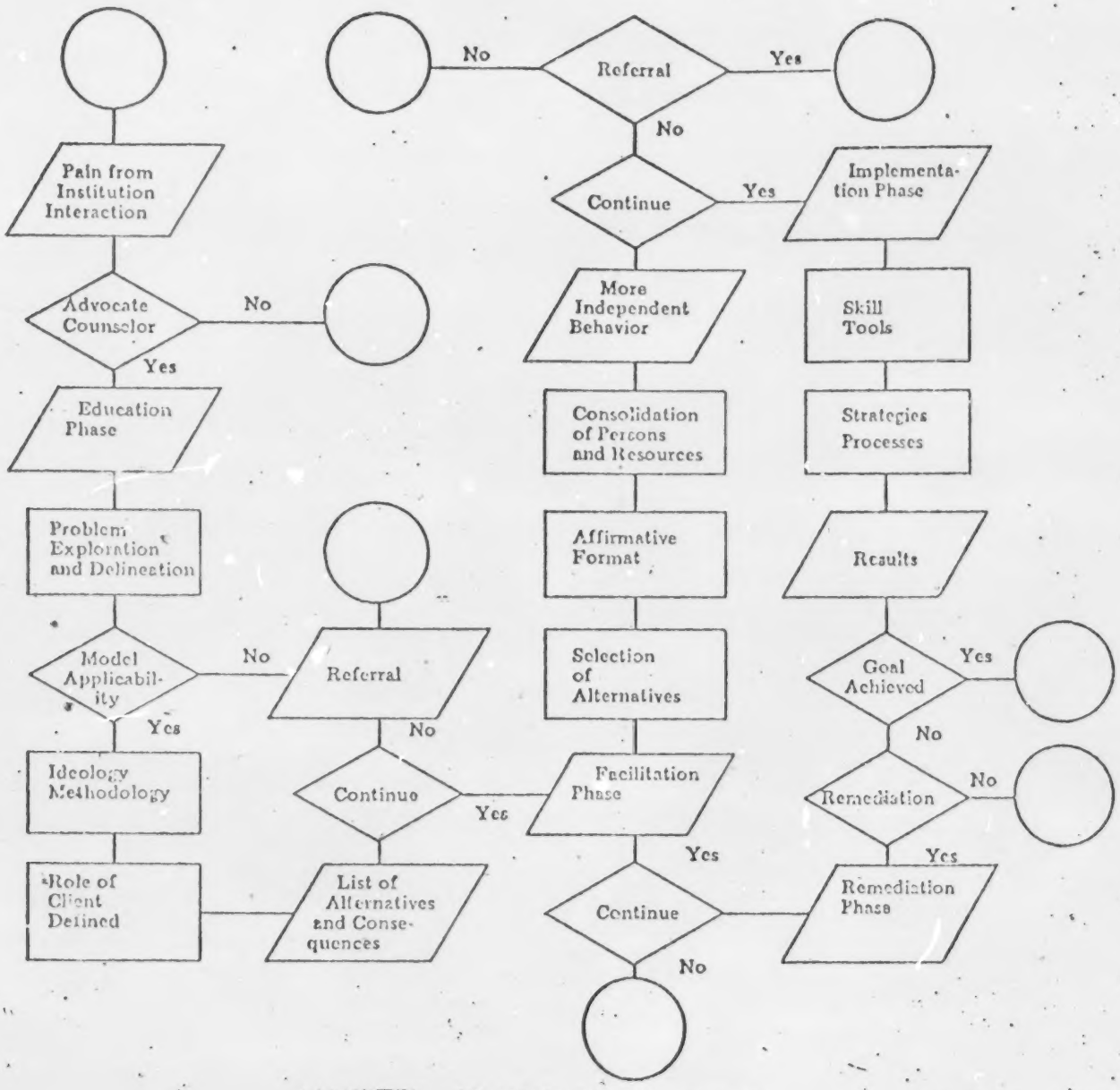


FIGURE 1: Flowchart of the Advocate Counseling Process.

Figure 2

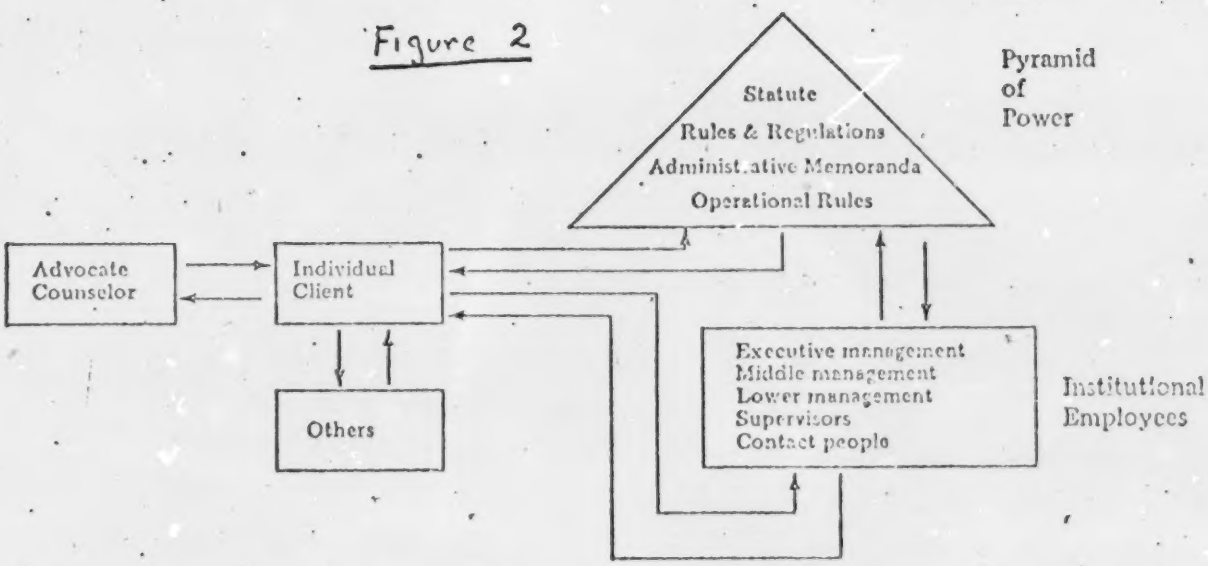


Figure 2. The Operational Model of Advocate Counseling

personnel and how to effectively utilize administrative procedures of due process. Much of this legal research education is done in an Information Resource Center, an action-oriented research facility containing primary and secondary source materials including statutes, relevant case law, rules & regulations, administrative memoranda and operational rules of various institutions. Cleints are taught how to utilize this facility, how to define the institutional problem, how to construct their own exhaustive list of alternatives and consequences, and how to implement the alternative of their choice. Because these are new behaviors for most people, the Model is also geared to handle conflicts and changes in thought processes, feelings, values and other personal-social insights.

The Advocate Counselor, as a helper, utilizes the skills of an educator, facilitator and implementor in aiding the client to obtain better and/or needed services from the institution. Such a helping person also maintains and makes accessible to the clients and their friends information from legislation, litigation and administrative memoranda. It is a primary function of the Advocate Counselor to insure that information disseminated to clients be as current as possible and that clients have an opportunity to ask questions and fully understand information. Whenever possible, clients should also be given dated copies of relevant primary source information and/or specially prepared, dated memoranda on subjects relevant to their stated problem(s). This accurate information on which the credibility of the advocate counselor ultimately rests, easy accessibility of the service on a 24 hour basis, periodic follow-up and client referrals are the chief outreach mechanisms of the advocate counselor. With this method of advocacy, it is appropriate for either the advocate counselor or the individual who has a problem to initiate a contact.

It is the Model's assertion, exemplified in Figure 3, that engaging in these action-oriented procedures is far more meaningful personally, educationally, psychologically and politically to people than certain present alternatives.

Therapeutic counseling or psychotherapy alone, despite the plethora of approaches, tends to focus on feelings and personal-interpersonal difficulties, not institutional problems. Going to a third-party advocate, such as an attorney, a public official or an issue-oriented action group, serves to reinforce the tendency of people to let others advocate on their behalf, creating an undesirable dependency relationship. This is why a distinction is made in the Model that the client learn how to advocate on his/her own behalf (become a client-advocate), rather than let others advocate for him/her.

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INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE.

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IV. LAWYER ADVOCACY. --- Advocacy by lawyers is legal advocacy on behalf of an individual or class of individuals. Black's Law Dictionary defines "lawyer" as "a person learned in the law: as an attorney, counsel, or solicitor; a person licensed to practice law." Also "any person who, for fee or reward, prosecutes or defends causes in courts of record or other judicial tribunals of the United States, or of any of the states, or whose business it is to give legal advice in relation to any cause or matter whatever. Act of July 13, 1966, article 9 (14 St. at Large, 121)."

A lawyer represents another person or persons who has been injured by some action or inaction. A lawyer may perform a number of functions requiring some knowledge of the law. Many but not all of these functions have to do directly with litigation.

The literature reveals that these lawyer advocates are few in number in most areas and as yet are not as well known as some of the other advocacy participants. Primary among the organizations utilizing advocacy by lawyers is the Mental Health Law Project, located in Washington, D.C.

Figure 3

| ANTECEDENTS → | BEHAVIOR → | CONSEQUENCES → | THOUGHTS, FEELINGS |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Institution-mediated cues; dysfunctional Institution-individual incident | Client attempts solutions (before Advocate Counseling) | Institution responds negatively | Client feels bad, impotent, blames and belittles self, feels frustrated and anxious |
| II. Institution-mediated cues; dysfunctional Institution-individual incident | Client attempts assertive counter-control skills (during, after Advocate Counseling) | Institution/institutional employee responds positively | Client feels good, potent, feels he/she can be assertive, wants to assert control over other areas of life |

Figure 3. Behavioral Analysis of Client Before and After Advocate Counseling.

The Lawyer Advocate may come in contact with a client on a "walk in" basis but, as is usually the case, the client is referred by someone else. The Lawyer Advocate may represent the client's individual needs where the problem is unique to the client or, where a whole class of persons can be identified, a class action suit may be attempted.

ADVOCACY AND SELF-ADVOCACY

Our definition and scope of advocacy attempts to provide a conceptual framework from which to view the concept and its resultant activities. We begin with a value orientation about human interaction; that is, we believe that people support and help each other in times of need in the hope that eventually those helped will move towards some measure of independence and self-reliance; hence, a "least possible restrictive" environment for those helped. Without this value system shared by those in the advocacy arena, however defined, it would be useless to progress further.

Advocacy, therefore, is a word which describes an attempt to match/share the perceived greater resources of one individual/group or system with the dearth of those resources of another person/group or system; the end goal being to achieve maximal potential via participation, independence, productivity, affirmative assertiveness and responsibility in society. The resource may be knowledge, skills, wealth, goods, transportation, experience, intelligence. So may be the needs.

The term "use of resources" is used intentionally to include a variety of roles between those with greater resources and those with lesser resources. Specifically, the advocate (greater resources) may engage in two general roles with an individual or group in need (those with lesser resources). From the perspective of the needy individual/group, note that these two roles assume a

continuum with dependence and minimal input by the individual/group on one end to the independence and maximal input on the other end. They are:

1. ADVOCACY ON BEHALF OF -- this means the advocate represents the interests of (advocates for) the individual/group; the assumption is that the individual/group is not currently capable of handling certain needs, problems and issues.
2. SELF-ADVOCACY INSTRUCTION -- this means the advocate helps the individual/group partially in handling needs, problems and issues, while attempting to teach the individual/group to identify the needs, problems and issues and move towards self-initiated solutions; the assumption is that the individual/group is capable of learning and handling some problem identification and solution but needs varying degrees of support or help.

In short, we see advocacy as:

AN INDIVIDUAL/GROUP OR SYSTEM WITH PERCEIVED GREATER RESOURCES WHICH REPRESENTS AND/OR INSTRUCTS SELF-INITIATED PROBLEM SOLVING EFFORTS OF ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL/GROUP OR SYSTEM WITH LESSER RESOURCES.

Advocacy in the above definition is a twofold process: (1) involving matching and sharing between greater to lesser resource units, and (2) involving an implementation process with a variety of representing and self-advocacy instructional roles. We see the above formula as providing a larger frame of reference from which to view advocacy; that is, there is a continuum whereby advocates perform services for or on behalf of individuals to advocates performing some services while instructing individuals to problem-solve for themselves.

Many of the current activities of advocacy groups fall into ADVOCACY ON BEHALF OF category as opposed to the SELF-ADVOCACY INSTRUCTION category. For example, legislative advocates and consumer advocates attempt to promote statutory and

policy changes on behalf of particular groups. In this sense, all administrative agencies, community boards and service providers are advocates. However, if we value the notion that all individuals should have the right to move toward some measure of independence, self-reliance, assertiveness and responsibility, then there should be some way of determining how much representing or advocating on behalf of an individual is necessary and essential. We feel that a specially created and designated advocate for any particular group(s)/individual(s) should be one who identifies resource gaps which are not presently being met adequately or at all by agents, who bear such responsibility. The advocate on this redefined level initiates action by showing how or by making a referral. He/she puts the burden on the individual or the family or the community. He/she does not perform advocacy. His/her ultimate goal is to put him/herself out of busniess. His/her immediate goal is to help the individual in such a way that he/she will be able to replicate the problem-solving process with minimal or no help from the advocate in future situations.

Advocates in the SELF-ADVOCACY INSTRUCTIONAL level will have the task of identifying the needs and problem areas of individuals/groups and teaching them ways they can advocate for themselves.

The Inclusion of System Advocacy and Personal Advocacy Within This New Definition: The concepts, "system advocacy" and "personal advocacy", are used in the literature by many groups usually to differentiate the impact levels of advocacy. The former concept means that some individual or gorup advocate would impact upon a system in order to promote change for a group. The latter concept means that some individual advocate would impact upon an individual or system in order to promote change for a particular person. Other names for system advocacy are: organizational advocacy, class advocacy, interest group politics

and issue-oriented advocacy. Differences between system and personal advocacies are noticeable in terms of the initiator of the advocacy efforts, the recipient of advocacy efforts (target), the beneficiary of the advocacy efforts, and the problem identification-solution time line.

For system advocacy, the initiator may be an individual or group who starts the advocacy procedures. The recipient or target of the advocacy is usually some system or institution(s) which is not currently responsive to the needs of the particular group or category of persons and the beneficiary is that group or category of persons. The time taken for such advocacy on the systems-change level varies greatly. However, because changes are often sought at the statutory, rules and regulations, and administrative memoranda levels, the time taken for such accomplishments is generally six months to several years. In addition, there is also the problem of institutional lag, whereby legislative or judicial changes take considerable time to filter through the various agency levels for implementation and appropriate service to the individuals for which the advocating is being performed. Such changes are often mitigated by problems of continuity of enforcement.

Individual or personal advocacy, on the other hand, distinguishes itself by having one person as an advocate initiator and one person as the beneficiary of the advocacy actions. Depending upon the particular need and problem, the recipient of advocacy efforts could be (a) the individual, if the need and problem involves directly and solely the individual, or (b) the institution or system, if the need and problem involves the services by an institution to the individual person. The problem identification and solution time line for personal advocacy efforts is generally short, relative to system efforts. It also follows logically that those in system advocacy choose problems and issues of a more universal nature affecting a particular group, and those in personal advocacy choose problems of a more episodic nature affecting an individual person.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This paper has attempted to provide a perspective on advocacy and self-advocacy with respect to institutional racism. It ends with three cries for action: 1) the need for order and conceptualization in the chaotic advocacy arena, 2) the need for research/evaluation data about advocacy efforts, and 3) the need for strong research efforts in the social change arena.

I. Much of the advocacy efforts cited are based upon day-to-day practical experiences in working with clients with institutional conflicts. To the practitioners of their respective advocacy efforts, it works. However, the conceptual development of these advocacy efforts leave much to be desired. Greater delineation of principles and concepts will have to be performed in order for these efforts to be of heuristic value. At present, Citizen Advocacy, Ombudsman, and Advocate Counseling* are efforts approaching states of conceptualization which allow for research to commence.

II. The adage, "Research is needed to substantiate the statements made", is appropriate. Suggestions for research fall into four general categories: 1) the advocacy or self-advocacy effort -- theory, process and outcome, 2) the institutions, 3) the clients or client-advocates, 4) the advocates or counselors. Much investigation is needed as to what constitutes the necessary and sufficient conditions for the various kinds of clients to underto a positive experience within each advocacy/self-advocacy effort. Procedures will have to be developed to verify the fact that behavior changes occur: a) in the institution's increased positive responsiveness or decreased racism, b) in the clients' being able to perform certain effective affirmative/assertive counter-control skills, c) in the clients' abilities to replicate and generalize these skills into other arenas, and d) in the clients' professed value changes.

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* Case study data is presently being collected by M. Brophy and A. Chan on the use of the Advocate Counseling Model.

Verification procedures to determine if institutional responsiveness has increased and for whether the client and advocate are performing certain assertive skills are presently easy to construct and measure. Generalization, transfer and professed value changes on the part of the client or advocate may present complex methodological and interpretational difficulties. Currently, much literature is written on the nature and process of constitutions by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, economists, etc.; however, there is little research in the area of institution-client exchanges. Even less is written on the changes occurring within institutions as a result of client-advocate, or advocacy group impact.

III. The advocacy/self-advocacy impetus received its current energy from the social change movements of the sixties and early seventies. The cry was and is for social change. But all too often that cry manifested itself in the form of group confrontation and litigation, both emotionally and financially expensive. For many persons, these forms of action are prohibitive.

Much has been written regarding what social changes are necessary but little about what constitutes social change. Social change occurs when institutions change. Institutions change when statutes, rules & regulations, administrative memoranda, or operational behaviors by employees change. It is worth considering how institutions become, as they are now, resistant to change; how they come primarily to serve the interests of those who are employees rather than those they were established to serve; how they come to place a most positive value on passive behavior and dependency rather than assertive behavior and greater independence.

It is not enough to make institutions change to meet the needs of today but rather to change institutions to meet the needs of a changing today. It is necessary that individuals as well as groups be able to impact upon institutions and that institutional personnel be primarily responsible and accountable to

those the institution was established to serve rather than those in the institutional hierarchy. For this to occur, individual people must have access to effective, affirmative assertive behavior. Advocacy/self-advocacy is a possible answer.

Before the period of consolidation sets in which seems to follow every period of social change, let us turn to the task of testing with the best tools available those methods which appear most viable for the task of maintaining strong and flexible institutions in a constantly changing society. This will require a combination of the disciplined activist and the research scholar. If such initiatives are not taken, we will soon find ourselves in a period of consolidation with only memories of the adversary relationship of confrontation and litigation to remind us of the period of change. Advocacy/self-advocacy which emphasizes effective, affirmative assertive behavior by groups and individuals is a hope for a dynamic and flexible social order which allows all peoples to meld together and yet remain distinct.

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